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AUTHOR Deskins, Lucinda E.
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ABSTRACT

Unesco's proposal to license journalists would entail setting certain criteria for all reporters to follow in their foreign and domestic stories, in return for which, licensed journalists would be protected from government harassment or harm. The proposal, which greatly disturbs journalists from Western nations, is an effort by Third World countries to correct what they believe is an imbalance in the flow and quality of Western media coverage of Third World news. Developmental journalism embodies the conviction that the media have a duty to the state that comes before any duty to their own freedom or independence from the state. Two basic differences for licensing are related to the political backgrounds of the countries in which it already exists: Those in which it keeps the government separate from the reporters and maintains high journalistic standards are democratic countries, whereas those in which the licensing seems to enforce government control are authoritarian nations. Because there is a definite split in beliefs as to how the world news should be reported, there are pros and cons that keep recurring in the licensing issue, underneath which lies one dominant obstacle--the countries of the world are so vastly different in development, politics, economics, and cultures, that no one set of regulations or code of ethics is ever going to be acceptable to all journalists or all countries. It is also clear that no one country or group of countries should have to live under another's standards. (HTH)

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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION DIVISION

UNESCO'S PROPOSAL TO LICENSE JOURNALISTS:
PROTECTION VS. CONTROL

By

Lucinda E. Deskins
School of Journalism
The Pennsylvania State University

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SECTION I

Introduction

William and Corker went to the Press Bureau. Dr. Benito, the director, was away but his clerk entered their names in his ledger and gave them cards of identity. They were small orange documents, originally printed for the registration of prostitutes. The space for thumbprint was now filled with a passport photograph and at the head the word "journalist" substituted.....

from Scoop by Evelyn Waugh

A license for every certified, working journalist, to ensure protection for all foreign correspondents, to set a code of ethics and regulations for all media personnel, to try to establish a bridge between the East and West, North and South, large enough for a balanced two-way flow of information. That constitutes the proposal within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to create a Commission for the Protection of Journalists and a New World Information Order. In general, the licensing of journalists would entail setting certain criteria for all reporters to follow in their foreign and domestic stories. The journalists would be expected to adhere to government regulations in the research, writing and printing of any article in an attempt to offset any one-sided or "negative" stories a country might find offensive or even detrimental to its functioning. In return for following government rules, the licensed journalist supposedly would be offered protection from any government harassment or harm.

The proposal has journalists of the Western democratic countries up in arms over the thought of government interference with the Fourth Estate, the watch-dog of the government, the eye of the world.

SECTION II

The Imbalance of World News Flow

The effort on the part of the Third World countries to start international licensing for journalists comes from a much bigger issue, namely the imbalance of news flow around the world. The gathering and disseminating of news is done mainly by Western reporters about Western countries. Most small developing nations are neither asked to contribute their own news nor covered by the Western media except in the event of natural disaster or war. Since the beginning of mass world news dissemination, the imbalance has existed as a result of economic and technological dominance of the West.¹

The question of an imbalance in quantity can be argued since the creation of many Third World news agencies which provide news stories on those countries.² But, a definite imbalance exists in the quality of Third World reporting done by the West. Mort Rosenblum says in his book, Coups and Earthquakes:

...coverage from the developing world has tended to be ill-informed and superficial. The system leaves scant space for news about most countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, much less the small ocean island states... Theoretically, if news organizations wrote at greater length and with more sensitivity about Third World affairs, there would be no difficulty.³

One of the reasons the West views itself as the rightful dominator of news flow is its so-called freedom from government controls. As J. Edward Murray, associate editor of the Detroit Free Press, says, "The West has the expertise and major investment in communications technology. More importantly, it has the tradition of objective news presentation free of government interference."⁴ But that dominance is often questioned, more so recently, by people who believe the dominance of the West--more specifically, the Big 4

news agencies: Agence France-Presse, Associated Press, Reuters and United Press International—often leads to a Western interpretation of global events while it neglects the majority of the people and their opinions.⁵ As a result, many Third World countries see the news reported by the West as a Western version of the news—unfair, incorrect, and sometimes harmful. At the Symposium on Information Media in Tunis, 1977, 50 non-aligned countries, some of which later formed the Non-Aligned New Agencies Pool, agreed that:

A one-way flow of information is due to the monopoly by the major transnational information systems, whose reports, generally speaking, often provide an inadequate, inaccurate, and tendentious picture of the overall social trends and processes in developing countries. 6

Not only do the Third World countries believe their news is mis-reported to the Western media consumers, but also to the people of their own countries. Since many Third World and developing nations have no means of collecting and disseminating their own news, they are subject to news about themselves as reported by Western journalists.⁷

In conjunction with believing they are being unfairly reported in the Western news, many developing countries see themselves as completely ignored by the West because they are so small and different from the West in development.⁸ Part of the reason for this superficial reporting is that, although the West has made great technological strides to help international reporting, the ever-increasing cost of foreign reporting means cutting down the number of reporters abroad and how much in-depth reporting they can do, and the result is the stories written tend to be spot news events—news that will sell well.⁹ In The Foreign Press, A Survey of the World's Journalism, John Merrill says:

Most of the news transmitted throughout the world is what is generally referred to as 'headline news', 'straight news', or 'spot news' and there has long been a realization among world journalists that too little 'interpretive' or 'explanatory' writing finds its way into the international communications stream. 10

According to the Western media, another reason for the lack of in-depth reporting of developing countries is that many foreign governments interfere with reporting, either by censoring what is written, refusing to talk, banning reporters from the country, or by harassing, imprisoning and/or torturing foreign correspondents. Tina S. Hills, publisher of the Puerto Rican daily El Mundo, told members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors that "(1980) was not a good year for human dignity and press freedom. Censorship, harassment and murder made the task of the journalist difficult and by far the most dangerous of the professions."¹¹ Sean MacBride, head of the UNESCO commission to study and make recommendations on the imbalance of news flow, echoes Hills' statement by saying, "The media cannot discharge its function properly if journalists are going to be killed, tortured, jailed."¹²

Western journalists maintain that if they are to report accurately and fairly on other countries, they must be allowed access to the correct and necessary information. However, many times the Third World press agencies are government-controlled and say what the governments want known, not what the facts are.¹³ In an article on UNESCO's proposed New World Information Order, Max L. Snijders says the Third World

. . . media-reformers do not distinguish between information, propaganda and social education. In their view, all of these are the state's responsibility. They see no difference between free exchange of information amongst the citizens and propaganda from the state to the citizens. 14

In an attempt to alter the imbalance of news flow, the Third World countries have tried four major tactics. First, 11 Third World news agencies joined together because of concern over the problem of being mis-reported or

ignored, and in 1975 formed the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, which 19 other agencies later joined or expressed an interest in.¹⁵ The idea behind the Pool was to establish, 1) competition for the Big 4 agencies; and 2) a pool of news stories written by journalists of those countries who understand the situations, background and culture. Thus, the Pool is trying to open the door to a two-way communication flow by providing news of the Third World by the Third World for the West to use.¹⁶ Or, at least by providing some competition for the Big 4, the Pool hopes the West might be forced into re-evaluating its coverage of the Third World.¹⁷

Second, many developing countries, especially those in Africa, resort to banning all foreign correspondents or letting in only those who will write positive stories.¹⁸ If the correspondents are not banned, some governments will censor all stories being relayed out of the country,¹⁹ or impose other restrictions such as harassment or imprisonment. A 1980 report by the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, Advancement of Freedom of Information Committee cites examples of an American journalist being jailed in Bolivia, while others were warned or questioned. The report also lists other countries where incidents of harassment and/or imprisonment have been reported.²⁰

Third, some countries, feeling the heat from groups such as Amnesty International and the Inter-American Press Association to stop dealing with journalists in a negative way, have taken to promoting their countries in an attempt to get favorable reports from journalists. For example, the late Anastasio Somoza, former president of Nicaragua, hired public relations firms in the United States to promote a good impression of his country.²¹ In Cuba, officials make a concerted effort to treat foreign correspondents very well, often allowing them to wander freely and question almost anyone.²²

Fourth, the Third World countries have joined together to use their collective power to back international legislation—such as the UNESCO licensing proposal. Those countries, realizing their power in numbers, are also attempting to get a greater share of radio waves allocated by the World Administrative Radio Conference. The Yugoslavian Federal Commission for Information issued a publication that states:

The existing state of affairs (in the limited number of radio channels and the West's control of the majority) seems to indicate that the frequency range and the manner which it is used constitute an area in which all the more important aspects of international conflicts are reflected. This means that the frequency spectrum constitutes another sphere within which the non-aligned and developing countries must struggle for relations based on equality. 23

SECTION III

Clashing Views on Press Freedom

The bottom line in the issue of how to solve the international imbalance of news flow is a clash of views on what constitutes freedom of the press. No one definition for press freedom exists because it is seen differently by various countries. In general, the West views press freedom as the right to inform without government interference, whereas the Third World nations believe in the right to be informed in an accurate and fair way, if necessary, with government involvement. The FOI report by the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, states, "Freedom of information--and more specifically, the right to see, receive and impart information--is a fundamental right, indeed a prerequisite for many others."²⁴

Not only is press "freedom" seen as a necessity by Western journalists, but it is also used as a reason for the dominance of the West in international communication. Murray says in his article, "World News Flow dependent on press freedom," "The best evidence for the freedom of the U.S. news media is that they have become the principle international suppliers of news in the non-Socialist world, mainly on the strength of their objective news and their independence from government policy."²⁵

However, in Third World countries, this press concept as it exists in the West may either be harmful or just too different for those countries. Arguments against the Western-modeled press freedom or independence include the ability of journalists to abuse the freedom in a way harmful to the developing nations, or to use it as a cover for what some developing countries see as "yellow journalism."²⁶ Teodoro Valencia, chairman of the Broadcast Media Council of the Philippines, asked a group of ASNE members, "What is wrong with the Western press? Some people say, in my country, that the

Western press is great—for the West. . . .The Western press judges the world but will not be judged." Valencia maintains that freedom is different for every country and must be developed within a country, not forced on one country by another. "We will fight for this freedom. . . . Give us the time, give us the opportunity, we will show you."²⁷

Behind the belief that Western "freedom of the press" is damaging and should not be a model for Third World countries is the conviction that the media have a duty to the state that comes before any duty to their own freedom or independence from the state. That conviction, often called "developmental journalism", has two sides.

One is the use of the media to help the country in its developmental efforts. Instead of criticizing the government or maintaining a watch-dog position, the media are utilized by the state to spread ideas to the masses to help them learn about new technology, medical aid and other beneficial information, and especially to erase the illiteracy problem that plagues most developing countries. Countries like China and Tanzania made great strides in their development by controlling the press and using it for developmental purposes.²⁸ That does not exclude the right of people to have a say in the press. In fact, people were encouraged to write letters to the papers, expressing ideas or complaints about local conditions or problems. That was one way the governments could get feedback on the effectiveness of their development programs, and it would also spark people or groups in other villages to try the ideas if they had a similar situation or problem.²⁹

The other side to developmental journalism is that it enables governments to repress the media in the name of aiding the country. One South African newspaper, The World, was banned in 1977 for the good of the state. Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, told a BBC reporter:

I don't think the freedom of the press has got anything to do with this at all. I cannot believe that any responsible press can demand the right to endanger the security of the state or the maintenance of public order. 30

Licensing of journalists, for whatever reasons, is not a new idea. Depending on their political backgrounds, Third World countries have established licensing either to separate the journalists from government control, or to ensure government control over the media. Journalism unions—or colegios, as they are called in Latin America—were developed by journalists who were concerned about government interference, bribery, low-quality writing and bad pay, or by governments that wanted to control the media by making licensing a function of the state.

Of all the Third World countries, those with licensing include: Costa Rica, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Columbia, Venezuela, Brazil and Bolivia in Latin America,³¹ as well as Egypt, Nigeria and Ghana.

The two basic differences for licensing, as mentioned above, are related to the political backgrounds of the countries. The countries where licensing is to keep the government separate from the reporters and maintain high journalistic standards are democratic countries—such as Costa Rica and Columbia—whereas in authoritarian nations the licensing seems to enforce government control.³²

In Bolivia, the first national professional press organization—the Federation of Workers of the Bolivian Press (FTPB)—was formed in 1964.³³ And in 1973, the FTPB joined with the Ministry of Information, the Universidad Polivian, which offers the journalism curricula now needed for a license, and the Association of La Paz Journalists (APLP) to form the commission that wrote the regulatory decrees for the registration of journalists.³⁴ The decrees state that a journalist can be licensed if he:

1. Has more than 10 years continuous experience;
2. Has five to ten years plus presented a thesis to a tribunal of the Ministry of Education and Culture;
3. Has between three to five years experience and two years of specialized study at the Universidad Boliviana;
4. Obtains a journalism degree from the university. 35

All candidates for a license need a two-thirds vote by a panel of two FTPB and two APLP representatives. All licenses must be renewed every two years.³⁶

One of the reasons for the establishment of the Bolivian colegio was to protect journalism from "dilettante interlopers just as (with) the professions of law and medicine. . ."³⁷

The Honduran journalist colegio was formed by national law in 1979 and membership is restricted to journalists with five or more years of continuous experience before the law passed, or a journalism degree from a recognized university.³⁸ According to a paper by John S. Nichols, reasons for forming a colegio in Honduras were to: 1) protect journalists from government interference; 2) increase wages for members; 3) encourage higher standards based on the code of ethics; and 4) increase educational standards and training for non-degree journalists.³⁹

However, as Elie Abel points out, the licensing systems in Bolivia and Honduras may be satisfying to a majority in the media business, but because of the differences in the developing countries, what works for one nation may not work for another:

Remember—the Third World is a mixed bag. They are not all peas in the same pod. Nothing is gained by treating them all the same way—some believe in a free press, and some do not. 40

And by extrapolation, because licensing works in some countries, adversaries of the proposal argue that not all countries would be as open to it. Those against licensing believe that any type of licensing leaves the journalists at the mercy of government.⁴¹ Editor & Publisher ran an editorial which says:

Despite the vehement protests by the IAPA, compulsory licensing of journalists spreads in the Americas, especially in democratic countries where governments, while espousing allegiance to press freedom, have resorted to this subtle but potentially effective means of controlling newsmen. 42

The Inter-American Press Association—a collection of Western publishers interested in maintaining Western standards of press freedom—also warns against government involvement by arguing that a government that issues a license may take it away from any journalist seen as a threat.⁴³ And aside from state intervention, one Bolivian newspaper editor expressed concern in licensing because it blocks channels of communication from the many former part-time contributors.⁴⁴ However, a number of those part-time contributors were writing only to collect bribes or power, not to become known as responsible journalists.

Most recently, the licensing debate has surfaced in Puerto Rico, where a bill introduced March 12, 1981, to the Puerto Rican Senate, calls for the establishment of a College of Journalists. The colegio would accredit journalists as true professionals in the field as well as protecting the rights of the journalist.⁴⁵ The college would be modeled after the 16 other colleges for professions in the commonwealth, including law and medicine, and would, some journalists believe, upgrade the profession as well as help screen out the part-timers who create competition by doing media work for virtually no money.⁴⁶

However, the two Puerto Rican dailies ran editorials against the bill⁴⁷ and Tina Hills spoke against it, echoing the IAPA's warnings about government intervention through licensing. Hills, speaking about the international scope of the issue, called for help from the Reagan administration

to assign someone at a high level to be a watch-dog for freedom of information in world arenas. . . And we can urge President Reagan to adopt a comprehensive communication and information policy that will respond promptly and effectively to foreign infringements. 48

SECTION IV

The Overall Licensing Issue

The overall issue, the UNESCO proposal, is a matter of deep concern and confusion to many journalists. Some members of UNESCO insist the MacBride report shows licensing is not necessary and, in fact, is not a good idea at all, while others argue that protection and a proper balance of news flow, can only be provided if all journalists are under one organization's control and are identifiable as such.

Expressing the opinions and concerns of the West, Anthony Day of the Los Angeles Times told ASNE members:

The object of the struggle is the control of information and the control of the press in those nations we call the Third World. : A concerted effort is underway to give the sanction of the United Nations to government control of the press, control not only of what is published or broadcast in a country but what is published about a country. . There is more to this contest than a simple good guys vs. bad guys approach. The people of the Third World have complaints that, even to Western eyes, are legitimate and needs that, to any eyes, are pressing. 49

The MacBride Report contains the following main elements:

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- A call for free access for reporters to "the entire spectrum of opinion" in any nation;
 - Denunciation of censorship;
 - Condemnation of the use of journalists as spies;
 - Rejection of the licensing of journalists;
 - Endorsement of journalists codes of ethics adopted without government interference;
 - Rejection of a special status or protection for reporters. 50

However, opponents of licensing remain concerned because the report does not altogether rule out the possibility of a governing body for all journalists. Although it maintains protection is impossible for media personnel, the Report also urges the adoption of "effective legal measures" to stop the Western monopoly on the media.⁵¹ The specific area in the Report that

is causing the Western journalists so much concern is Section 58, which says:

Effective legal measures should be designed to:

- A) Limit the process of concentration and monopolization;
- B) Circumscribe the actions of transnationals by requiring them to comply with criteria and conditions defined by national legislation and development policies;
- C) Reverse trends to reduce the numbers of decision-makers at a time when the media's public image is growing larger and the impact of communication is increasing;
- D) Reduce the influence of advertising on editorial policy and broadcast programming;
- E) Seek and improve models which could insure greater independence and autonomy of the media concerning their management and editorial policy, whether these media are under private, public or government ownership. 52

The contradictions are obvious. While part E advocates independence and autonomy for the media, part B requires international journalists to work under set rules established by the government. And all parts of Section 58 are to be enforced legally. The threat of government control is written into the MacBride Report, and it is that threat that has many journalists worried in spite of the Report's call for press autonomy.

If put into operation, the Commission for the Protection of Journalists "would issue identification cards to reporters on dangerous assignments in war zones or working abroad", according to a New York Times article.⁵³ And the long-range plan is to eventually include all journalists abroad and at home.

The Commission would only be the core of the New World Information Order. And although plans for the NWIO are still in the drawing-board stage, Max Snijders points out that advocates say the order could maintain positive news aspects and correct negative ones. For instance, news about Third World countries would come more from those countries than from Western reporters; that news could be used in the Third World's "nation-building" process; the NWIO may result in changes in international economics due to some necessary

changes in "international power structures". The new order also may correct the West's use of news solely as a commodity; cut down on the domination of the "Big 4" news agencies; and get media to fulfill more of a social function.⁵⁴

Because there is a definite split in beliefs as to how the world news should be reported, there are definite pros and cons that keep recurring in the licensing issue. Ideally, the Commission would ensure safety for journalists, and to some who have been threatened or seen friends and colleagues harassed or killed, the idea of protection is welcome. If the proposed Commission could actually protect foreign and domestic reporters, the benefit would be undeniable. According to a plan drafted by political scientist Pierre Gaborit, at the University of North Paris, the Commission and licensing would "reduce the risks run by journalists (by) enabling them to identify themselves rapidly in all circumstances". He proposes the Commission be formed with members from the media only, but later expanded to include government representatives.⁵⁵ Diaz Rangel, president of the Latin American Federation of Journalists says of the Commission, "If only one life is saved then the idea is worthwhile".⁵⁶

Advocates say the Commission also would enable journalists to raise their standards and eliminate any low-quality, shallow reporting. Snijders claims that licensing is "one of the efforts to bridge the gap between what is normal in democratic countries and what journalists in authoritarian countries would want. . ." It "is the plea for special recognition for journalists in view of their special task".⁵⁷ Snijders wants the Commission to lift journalists out of the path of the government battles so journalists can maintain their ability to report news without becoming a pawn in the struggle to redistribute power via the media.

On the other hand, many journalists continue to argue against

licensing, insisting that nothing can protect a reporter in a war zone and by giving a governmental body the power to "protect", that body can also decide who not to protect. George Beebe of the IAPA gives examples to show the futility of licensing as protection:

Oliver Rabbot, a French photographer covering El Salvador's Civil War, is an example. While accompanying soldiers down a street, he was shot by a sniper. Three journalists riding into the country in a jeep hit a landmine. One was killed.

Do these reporters need special credentials? The answer is no. Our reporters have been in the mountains with guerrillas. They have been in the palace with junta leaders. Neither can guarantee safety to journalists. 58

The main concern within the Western media is that the proposal will give UNESCO or some appointed body governing control over all journalists. The IPI believes a main governing body will not ensure that individual Third World governments will uphold the mission to protect journalists.⁵⁹ Some journalists also insist the proposal to protect reporters really means those Third World countries involved in the proposal want protection from journalists. An IPI resolution issued after a general assembly meeting on the proposal says, "Protection must be meaningful and not an excuse to exercise governmental control—not a way to protect the government from the journalist."⁶⁰ According to Ruberry, not only is there to be a Commission for the Protection of Journalists, but also an International Center for Studying and Planning of Information and Communication that would train Third World reporters and decide what the news would be. "It's creation would institutionalize UNESCO interference in the global news media."⁶¹ Editor & Publisher says, "The common thread through many of the challenges to America's journalists. . . .is one of control over what journalists would write or say."⁶²

Not only do Western journalists express worries about the possibility

of coming under the control of a governing body and having to conform to a set of rules and ethics, they are also concerned about the ability of UNESCO to blacklist any reporter who does not conform. Just as with the issue in Puerto Rico, opponents to licensing emphasize that the power to grant a license carries the power to take that license away. A New York Times article states, "(The Commission) would also judge complaints about (reporter's) professional conduct and could withdraw the identity cards, making it difficult and perhaps impossible for them to work in many countries."⁶³

But underneath the given pros and cons lies one dominant obstacle—the countries of the world are vastly different in development, politics, economics and culture. And no one set of regulations or code of ethics is ever going to be acceptable to all journalists or the countries of those journalists. For centuries, the West had, and for now maintains, majority control of the flow of information and thereby control of the set of standards in international reporting. However, as the Third World continues to push its position in UNESCO, the West is complaining not just about losing control, but about having a different set of standards forced back on it.

But the point that's becoming increasingly clear is that no one country or group of countries should have to live under another's standards as the Third World has had to do and is now trying to reverse. Herve Bourges, the UNESCO director-general's spokesman, says, "The concepts of press freedom are too different to enable one to imagine a common code of ethics in the foreseeable future."⁶⁴ A National News Council report states:

It has been evident since 1976 when UNESCO began at Nairobi its attempt to evolve a global consensus on a New World Information and Communication Order that basic conflicts in approach, philosophy, values and governmental structure between East and West, North and South, made a meeting of minds difficult, if not impossible. 65

As Editor & Publisher says, "Proposals for a New World Information Order, an international code of ethics, licensing, responsibilities of reporters and similar proposals continue to generate from UNESCO despite any possibility of agreement or even compromise on them at the international level."⁶⁶ Roger Tartarian, former editor of UPI, echoes the sentiment by stressing the difference in international ideologies and the problem UNESCO will face in trying to figure out "any sort of pattern that is going to keep opposed ideologies happy."⁶⁷

Even if a compromise can be reached on an international level, there is the problem of the individual ethics and beliefs of each journalist. Derek Ingram of the Gemini News Service in London speaks about his experience in finding that

. . . a journalist can but write as he sees affairs through his eyes and in his mind. . . I may strive, and indeed do, to see things through African or Asian eyes when required, but I cannot possibly achieve it any more than an Indian journalist can describe events through English eyes. 68

Most Western reporters and media personnel are asking, "Is there another way, an alternative to the UNESCO licensing proposal?" Bourges says if any system were organized, it should be done at the technological level only, with no licensing or code of ethics to be enforced.⁶⁹ This May 15-17, leaders of independent news organizations in 20 countries met at a Voices of Freedom conference in Talloires, France, to discuss ways to fight the UNESCO proposal. They drafted a declaration of their stand against the NWIO. In the declaration, the belief in the necessity of a Western concept of freedom of the press is emphasized as well as freedom to have access to all information and be able to report it. The declaration denounces licensing and establishment of a code of ethics:

There can be no international code of journalistic

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ethics; the plurality of views makes this impossible. .
Licensing of journalists by national or international
bodies should not be sanctioned, nor should special
requirements be demanded of journalists in lieu of
licensing them. 70

In return for the dismissal of the proposal, the declaration emphasizes the Western countries will "pledge cooperation in all genuine efforts to expand the free flow of information worldwide," and insists UNESCO should direct its energies to finding other solutions such as making cheaper newsprint, helping with the transfer of equipment and technological advice and lowering communications tariffs.⁷¹

However, the Third World countries are not convinced the pledges of the West will really help. In fact, a transfer of technology may only serve to reinforce the West's dominance. Instead, they are afraid that by accepting the pledges and backing down on the NWIO proposal, they will allow the West to continue its domination of international news flow. Two graduate students in government and foreign affairs at the University of Virginia propose that if the West wants the Third World to back down, Western reporters are going to have to do more than pledge technological aid. They insist journalists must learn to report the Third World countries more fairly and in more depth.⁷² And Elie Abel gives the following advice to Western reporters:

Certainly listen to, and understand, the different cultures we are dealing with on this planet. We have enemies and we have friends in the Third World—learn which is which. Do not assume that anyone who does not vote with us is an enemy. 73

Prince Karim Aga Khan reminded the IPI in Nairobi that "we should all accept the need for a structural exchange of editorial expertise. The developing countries can make a contribution which is just as important as any of the industrialized nations."⁷⁴ The Third World nations want to be recognized as nations on the earth, not as lesser countries because they are behind the

West in development, and the West should try to see them that way instead of looking down at them for being different.

In return, the West has demands of its own that the Third World be more open and accessible to foreign correspondents, and that instead of being so restrictive and dominating of media, foreign governments should listen to the public's opinions and not try to fool the public by issuing propaganda.⁷⁵ The Voices of Freedom declaration expresses the West's concern over growing political control of media in many countries. The members of the conference urge those countries instead to cooperate with reporters so the media consumers may get a more accurate picture of the news, not denials or government lies.⁷⁶

SECTION V

Conclusions

If existing journalism unions are used as models for the worldwide licensing, the differences need to be noted. The issue of licensing for better pay will not be a major factor in the UNESCO proposal because salaries will still be handled at the individual level by each newspaper, TV and radio station. But all other issues in forming a colegio will be prominent—raising the ethical standards and the quality of writing and determining the journalists' relationships with a governing body.

The idea of licensing to protect journalists from government control would appeal to many Western reporters and for that reason, a commission with no direct government connection might be a better solution. A global version of the Swedish Court of Honor, where complaints against journalists would be investigated by fellow media personnel and the results published with no government action involved, could be a viable compromise agreeable to all parties. This international press council could stress the importance of high ethical standards for journalists as well as maximum cooperation by all countries, if journalists and governments would agree to abide by the council's decision.

The power of the Third World is growing with every new country formed, and that growing power can no longer be ignored much to the distress of many Western reporters. The West will continuously lose power in the media game unless East, West, North, and South can agree on a compromise, but considering the dominant position held by the West for so many years, most Western journalists are not going to want any sort of compromise, let alone a New World Information Order. Abel puts many reporters' fears into words when he says:

I am worried not only about the votes going against our free press concept, but I am concerned about the growing loss of free thought in the world and the diminished voice the United States has in world councils. . . We are dealing with a genuine Third World movement to gain control of its future. 77

And if Abel's statements are any indication of the future, Western journalists and all others may find themselves confronted with international licensing.

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